Interpretatio graeca

Interpretatio graeca (Latin for 'Greek translation'), or "interpretation by means of Greek [models]", refers to the tendency of the ancient Greeks to identify foreign deities with their own gods.^{[1][2]} It is a discourse^[3] used to interpret or attempt to understand the mythology and religion of other cultures; a comparative methodology using ancient Greek religious concepts and practices, deities, and myths, equivalencies, and shared characteristics.



A Roman wall painting showing the Egyptian goddess Isis (seated right) welcoming the Greek heroine Io to Egypt

The phrase may describe Greek efforts to explain others' beliefs and myths, as when Herodotus describes Egyptian religion in terms of perceived Greek analogues, or when Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch document Roman cults, temples, and practices under the names of equivalent Greek deities. *Interpretatio graeca* may also describe non-Greeks' interpretation of their own belief systems by comparison or assimilation with Greek models, as when Romans adapt Greek myths and iconography under the names of their own gods.

Interpretatio romana is comparative discourse in reference to ancient Roman religion and myth, as in the formation of a distinctive Gallo-Roman religion. Both the Romans and the Gauls reinterpreted Gallic religious traditions in relation to Roman models, particularly Imperial cult.

Jan Assmann considers the polytheistic approach to internationalizing gods as a form of "intercultural translation":

The great achievement of polytheism is the articulation of a common semantic universe. ... The meaning of a deity is his or her specific character as it unfolded in myths, hymns, rites, and so on. This character makes a deity comparable to other deities with similar traits. The similarity of gods makes their names mutually translatable. ... The practice of translating the names of

the gods created a concept of similarity and produced the idea or conviction that the gods are international.^[4]

Pliny the Elder expressed the "translatability" of deities as "different names to different peoples" (nomina alia aliis gentibus).^[5] This capacity made possible the religious syncretism of the Hellenistic era and the pre-Christian Roman Empire.

Examples



A Roman fresco from Herculaneum depicting Hercules (from Etruscan *Hercle* and ultimately Greek *Heracles*) and Achelous (patron deity of the Achelous River in Greece) from Greco-Roman mythology, 1st century AD

Herodotus was one of the earliest authors to engage in this form of interpretation. In his observations regarding the Egyptians, he establishes Greco-Egyptian equivalents that endured into the Hellenistic era, including Amon/Zeus, Osiris/Dionysus, and Ptah/Hephaestus. In his observations regarding the Scythians, he equates their queen of the gods, Tabiti, to Hestia, Papaios and Api to Zeus and Gaia respectively, and Argimpasa to Aphrodite Urania, while also claiming that the Scythians worshipped equivalents to Herakles and Ares, but which he does not name.

Some pairs of Greek and Roman gods, such as Zeus and Jupiter, are thought to derive from a common Indo-European archetype (Dyeus as the supreme sky god), and thus exhibit shared functions by nature. Others required more expansive theological and poetic efforts: though both Ares and Mars are war gods, Ares was a relatively minor figure in Greek religious practice and deprecated by the poets, while Mars was a father of the Roman people and a central figure of archaic Roman religion.

Some deities dating to Rome's oldest religious stratum, such as Janus and Terminus, had no Greek equivalent. Other Greek divine figures, most notably Apollo, were adopted directly into Roman culture, but underwent a distinctly Roman development, as when Augustus made Apollo one of his patron deities. In the early period, Etruscan culture played an intermediary role in transmitting Greek myth and religion to the Romans, as evidenced in the linguistic transformation of Greek Heracles to Etruscan Herfelcle to Roman Hercules.

Interpretatio romana

The phrase *interpretatio romana* was first used by the Imperial-era historian Tacitus in the *Germania*.^[6] Tacitus reports that in a sacred grove of the Nahanarvali, "a priest adorned as a woman presides, but they commemorate gods who in Roman terms *(interpretatione romana)* are Castor and Pollux."^[7] Elsewhere,^[8] he identifies the principal god of the Germans as Mercury, perhaps referring to Wotan.^[9]



Gilt bronze head from the cult statue of Sulis Minerva from the Temple at Bath

Some information about the deities of the ancient Gauls (the continental Celts), who left no written literature other than inscriptions, is preserved by Greco-Roman sources under the names of Greek and Latin equivalents. A large number of Gaulish theonyms or cult titles are preserved, for instance, in association with Mars. As with some Greek and Roman divine counterparts, the perceived similarities between a Gallic and a Roman or Greek deity may reflect a common Indo-European origin. Lugus was identified with Mercury, Nodens with Mars as healer and protector, and Sulis with Minerva. In some cases, however, a Gallic deity is given an *interpretatio romana* by means of more than one god, varying among literary texts or inscriptions. Since the religions of the Greco-Roman world were not dogmatic, and polytheism lent itself to multiplicity, the concept of "deity" was often expansive, permitting multiple and even contradictory functions within a single divinity, and overlapping powers and functions among the diverse figures of each pantheon. These tendencies extended to cross-cultural identifications. [11]

In the Eastern empire, the Anatolian storm god with his double-headed axe became Jupiter Dolichenus, a favorite cult figure among soldiers.

Application to the Jewish religion

Roman scholars such as Varro interpreted the monotheistic god of the Jews into Roman terms as Caelus or Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Some Greco-Roman authors seem to have understood the Jewish invocation of Yahweh Sabaoth as Sabazius.^[12] In a similar vein, Plutarch gave an example of a symposium question "Who is the god of the Jews?", by which he meant: "What is his Greek name?" as we can deduce from the first speaker at the symposium, who maintained that the Jews worshiped Dionysus, and that the day of Sabbath was a festival of Sabazius. Lacunae prevent modern scholars from knowing the other speakers' thoughts.^[13] Tacitus, on the topic of the Sabbath, claims that "others say that it is an observance in honour of Saturn, either from the primitive elements of their faith having been transmitted from the Idæi, who are said to have shared the flight of that God, and to have founded the race", ^[14] implying Saturn was the god of the Jews.

From the Roman point of view, it was natural to apply the above principle to the Jewish God. However, the Jews, unlike other peoples living under Roman rule, rejected any such attempt out of hand, regarding such an identification as the worst of sacrilege. This complete divergence of views was one of the factors contributing to the frequent friction between the Jews and the Roman Empire; for example, the Emperor Hadrian's decision to rebuild Jerusalem under the name of Aelia Capitolina, a city dedicated to Jupiter, precipitated the bloodbath of the Bar Kokhba revolt.

Emperor Julian, the 4th century pagan emperor, remarked that "these Jews are in part god-fearing, seeing that they revere a god who is truly most powerful and most good and governs this world of sense, and, as I well know, is worshipped by us also under other names". [15] However, Julian specifies no "other names" under which the Jewish god was worshiped.

In late antiquity mysticism, the sun god Helios is sometimes equated to the Judeo-Christian God.^[16]

Cross-cultural equivalencies

The following table is a list of Greek, Roman, Etruscan, Egyptian, Sumerian, Phoenician, Zoroastrian, and Celtic equivalencies via the *interpretationes*. These are not necessarily gods who share similar traits (as viewed by modern scholarship or readers, at least), and rarely do they share a common origin (for that, see comparative Indo-European pantheons); they are simply gods of various cultures whom the Greeks or Romans identified (either explicitly in surviving

works, or as supported by the analyses of modern scholars) with their own gods and heroes. This system is easily seen in the names of the days of the week, which were frequently translated according to the interpretatio.

Greek	Roman	Etruscan	Egyptian	Phoenician	Zororastrian	Celtic	Functions
Achilles		Achle					hero
Adonis		Atunis	Osiris	Tammuz (Adōn)			agriculture; resurrection
Amphitrite	Salacia		Hatmehit				sea goddess
Anemoi	Venti				Vayu-Vata		winds
Aphrodite	Venus	Turan (Apru)	Hathor / Isis ^[17]	Astarte	Anahita		beauty; sex; love
Apollo		Apulu	Horus	Resheph	Mithra	Belenus / Maponos / Borvo / Grannus	light; prophecy; healing; plagues; archery; music; poets
Ares	Mars	Laran	Anhur		Verethragna	Toutatis / Nodens / Neton	war
Artemis	Diana	Artume	Bastet ^[18]	Kotharat	Drvaspa		hunting, the hunt; wilderness, wild animals; virginity, childbirth; Diana: lit. heavenly or divine
Asclepius	Aesculapius / Vejove	Veiove	Imhotep	Eshmun			healing
Athena	Minerva ^[19]	Menrva	Neith ^[20] /	Anat	Anahita	Sulis / Belisama / Senuna / Coventina / Icovellauna / Sequana	wisdom; war strategy; the arts and crafts; weaving
Atlas		Aril	Shu ^[21]				holder of the celestial spheres
Atropos	Morta	Leinth					Atropos: lit. inflexible; death
Boreas	Aquilo	Andas					North Wind or Devouring One
Castor and Polydeuces (Dioscuri)	Castor and Pollux (Gemini)	Castur and Pultuce (Tinas cliniar)					twins

Greek	Roman	Etruscan	Egyptian	Phoenician	Zororastrian	Celtic	Functions
Charites	Graces						grace; splendor; festivity; charity
Charon		Charun	Aqen				fierce, flashing, feverish gaze (eyes)
Chloris	Flora						Chloris: lit. greenish-yellow pale green, pale, pallid, fresh; Flora: lit. flower
Clotho	Nona						spinning; thread
Cronus	Saturn	Satre	Khnum	El (Elus)			Time, generation, dissolution, agriculture
Cybele	Magna Mater						Magna Mater: lit. Great Mother
Demeter	Ceres	Zerene	Isis ^[22]		Ashi		grains, agricultural fertility; Demeter: lit. Earth Mother
Dionysus	Liber / Bacchus	Fufluns	Osiris ^[23]			Cernunnos	wine and winemaking; revelry; ecstasy; Liber: lit. the free one
Enyo	Bellona	Enie	Sekhmet				war
Eos	Aurora / Matuta	Thesan	Tefnut				dawn
Erinyes	Dirae						Furies
Eris	Discordia	Eris	Anat	Shahar			strife
Eros	Cupid (Amor)	Erus					sexual love
Euterpe		Euturpa / Euterpe					"she who delights"; muse of music (especially flute music) and

Greek	Roman	Etruscan	Egyptian	Phoenician	Zororastrian	Celtic	Functions
							song; later, also
							of lyric poetry
Eurus	Vulturnus						East Wind
Gaia	Terra / Tellus	Cel	Geb		Zam		the earth
Hades	Dis Pater / Pluto / Orcus	Aita	Anubis / Osiris	Mot	Angra Mainyu		the underworld. Hades: lit. the unseen
Hebe	Juventas		Renpet				youth
Hecate	Trivia		Heqet			Matronae	will; Hecate: trans. she who has power far off ^[24]
Helios	Sol Invictus / Sol Indiges	Usil	Ra ^[25]	Shamash (Utu)	Mithra		sun
Hephaestus	Vulcan	Sethlans	Ptah	Kothar-wa- Khasis ^[26]	Atar	Gobannos	metalwork, forges; fire, lava
Hera	Juno	Uni	Mut / Hathor		Armaiti		marriage, family
Heracles	Hercules	Hercle	Heryshaf, Shu ^[27]	Melqart	Rostam	Ogmios	Heracles: lit. glory/fame of Hera
Hermes	Mercury	Turms	Anubis, Thoth	Taautus	Shamash	Lugus / Viducus	transitions; boundaries; thieves; travelers; commerce; Hermes: poss. "interpreter"; Mercurius: related to Latin "merx" (merchandise), "mercari" (to trade), and "merces" (wages)
Hesperus	Vesper			Shalim			evening, supper, evening star, west ^[28]

Greek	Roman	Etruscan	Egyptian	Phoenician	Zororastrian	Celtic	Functions
Hestia	Vesta		Anuket				hearth, fireplace, domesticity
Hygeia	Salus					Sirona	health; cleanliness
llithyia	Lucina	Ilithiia	Tawaret				childbirth, midwifery
Irene	Pax						реасе
Iris	Arcus / Iris		Nut				rainbow
	Janus	Culsans					beginnings; transitions; motion; doorways Lachesis: lit.
Lachesis	Decima						disposer of lots
Leto	Latona	Letun					Demureness; mothers
Maia	•					Rosmerta	growth
Moirai (Moerae)	Fates or Parcae						Apportioners
Muses	Camenae						Music; inspiration
Nemesis or Rhamnusia	Invidia						"retribution"
Nike	Victoria	Meanpe				Bodua / Brigantia / Nemetona	victory
Notus	Auster						South Wind
Odysseus	Ulysses or Ulixes	Uthste					hero
Palaemon	Portunus						keys, doors; ports, harbors
Pan	Faunus		Min, Khem ^[29]				nature, the wil
Persephone	Proserpina	Persipnei					poss. "to emerge"
Phaon		Phaun / Faun / Phamu					mortal boatman giver youth and

Greek	Roman	Etruscan	Egyptian	Phoenician	Zororastrian	Celtic	Functions
							beauty by Aphrodite
Pheme	Fama						fame; rumor
Phosphoros	Lucifer			Attar			lit. light bearer
Poseidon	Neptune	Nethuns		Yam	Apam Napat		sea; water; horses; earthquakes
Priapus	Mutunus Tutunus						fertility; livestock; gardens; male genitalia
Prometheus	•	Prumathe					forethought
Rhea	Ops / Magna Mater (see Cybele above)		Nut	Asherah			Rhea: lit. flowing. Ops: lit. wealth, abundance, resources.
Selene	Luna	Losna Tiur	Isis, Thoth, Khonsu	Yarikh	Mah		moon
Silenos	Silvanus	Selvans				Sucellus	Silvanus: lit. of the woods
Thallo		Thalna					blossoms
Theoretical	Mors	Leinth	Anubis	Mot			446
Thanatos		Charun					death
Themis	Justitia		Ma'at				law of nature
Tyche	Fortuna	Nortia		Gad			luck, fortune
Typhon			Set / Apep				"whirlwinds, storms, chaos, darkness"
Uranus	Caelus		Nut	El	Asman		sky, heavens
	Vertumnus	Voltumna		Baal			the seasons; change
Zephyr	Favonius						West Wind; Favonius: lit. favorable
Zeus	Jupiter or Jove ^[30]	Tinia	Amun ^[31]	Hadad	Ahura Mazda (Ohrmazd)	Taranis	weather, storms, lightning, Sky Father

In art

Examples of deities depicted in syncretic compositions by means of *interpretatio graeca* or *romana*:



Jupiter Ammon (terracotta of Hellenistic style, 1st century AD)



Syncretized figure from the Eastern provinces, perhaps a Genius (1st century BC – 1st century AD)



Isis holding sistrum and oinochoe (Roman marble, reign of Hadrian)



Isis, Serapis, the child Harpocrates and Dionysos (relief from Roman Africa, late 2nd century AD)



Worshipper before Zeus-Serapis-Ohrmazd (Bactria, 3rd century AD)

See also

- Aion (deity)
- Mystery religions
- Honji suijaku, in Japan
- Interpretatio germanica
- Interpretatio Christiana
- Celtic deities

- Proto-Indo-European religion, a reconstructed religion that relates Greek deities to other Indo-European deities
- Shinbutsu-shūgō, a Japanese amalgamation of Buddhist and Shinto deities
- Syncretism
- Three teachings, Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism as harmonious aggregate in Chinese philosophy.
- Unknown god

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